

Message Text

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TO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 173691

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:NATO, PORG, YO

SUBJECT: YUGOSLAV PARTY CONGRESS

REF: USNATO 6682

1. MISSION MAY DRAW UPON THE FOLLOWING INR ANALYSIS OF THE
YUGOSLAV PARTY CONGRESS AND FRG REPORT AS APPROPRIATE.
TEXT FOLLOWS.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

YUGOSLAV PARTY CONGRESS PREPARES FOR POST-TITO PERIOD

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THE PARTY CONGRESS IN BELGRADE, JUNE 20-23, MADE NO
SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN DOMESTIC OR FOREIGN POLICIES, AL-
THOUGH THE PARTY HIERARCHY WAS REORGANIZED TO PREPARE FOR
TITO'S DEPARTURE FROM THE POLITICAL SCENE. THE CONGRESS
SERVED MAINLY AS A FORUM FOR TITO AND OTHER YUGOSLAV
LEADERS TO REAFFIRM THEIR COMMITMENT TO SELF-MANAGEMENT
AND NON-ALIGNMENT AND TO STRESS THE THEMES OF DOMESTIC

STABILITY AND CONTINUITY OF POLICY. THE PARTY REORGANIZATION OF THE HIERARCHY OFFERED NO SURPRISES:

--THE PRESIDUM WAS REDUCED FROM 48 TO 24 TO MAKE THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS MORE EFFICIENT. THE EXECUTIVE

COMMITTEE (ROUGHLY THE EQUIVALENT OF THE PARTY SECRETARIATS IN OTHER COMMUNIST REGIMES) WAS ABOLISHED, AND MUCH OF ITS EXECUTIVE POWER WAS TRANSFERRED TO THE PRESIDUM.

--STANE DOLANC, WHO HAS MANAGED THE PARTY BUREAUCRACY FOR TITO SINCE 1972, WAS ELECTED TO THE NEWLY CREATED POSITION OF SECRETARY OF THE PRESIDUM. DOLANC, 52, NOW BECOMES THE LEADING CANDIDATE TO SUCCEED TITO AS PARTY LEADER. (LONG-TIME TITO COLLABORATOR EDVARD KARDELJ REPORTEDLY IS GRAVELY ILL WITH CANCER.)

--MILITARY REPRESENTATION ON THE PRESIDUM WAS REDUCED FROM FIVE GENERALS TO ONE (DEFENSE SECRETARY LJUBICIC), BUT TITO UNDERScoreD THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MILITARY IN PRESERVING YUGOSLAVIA'S INDEPENDENCE AND STABILITY.

--NINETY-SEVEN OF THE 165 MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WERE NEWLY ELECTED. THIS POINTS UP THE ECLIPSE OF THOSE OLDER LEADERS WHO HAD FOUGHT WITH TITO IN THE PARTISAN
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MOVEMENT.

ALTHOUGH NOT CRITICIZED BY NAME, MOSCOW COULD NOT HAVE BEEN PLEASED BY THINLY-VEILED ATTACKS ON ITS POLICIES BY SEVERAL TOP YUGOSLAV LEADERS. TITO WAS CRITICAL OF MOSCOW'S POLICIES IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND AMONG THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES, WHILE FORMER FOREIGN SECRETARY MINIC MADE INDIRECT ATTACKS ON CUBAN AND SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA AND ON THEIR ATTEMPTS TO DOMINATE AND "RADICALIZE" THE NONALIGNED MOVEMENT. OFFICIALLY, MOSCOW'S REACTION TO THE CONGRESS WAS ONE OF RESTRAINED WARMTH.

INR COMMENTS ON FRG ANALYSIS:

WE COMMEND THE FRG ANALYSIS OF THE CONGRESS AND WOULD MAKE THE FOLLOWING MINOR OBSERVATIONS ON PARAGRAPHS 5-6.

(1) WITHOUT MINIMIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NATIONALITY/ETHNIC ISSUES, IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT BUT THREE OF THE NINE SERBS IN THE 24-MEMBER PARTY PRESIDUM REPRESENT SERBIA PER SE: THE REMAINDER REPRESENT OTHER CONSTITUENCIES

(E.G., BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, VOJVODINA, CROATIA, THE MILITARY) AND CANNOT BE EXPECTED AUTOMATICALLY TO ADVANCE SERBIAN INTERESTS OR ENHANCE SERBIAN INFLUENCE IN THE POST-TITO POLITICAL CONFIGURATION.

(2) THE FAILURE OF A SERB TO OCCUPY A TOP FUNCTION IN THE HIERARCHY (COMPARABLE TO THE SLOVENES KARDELJ AND DOLANC OR TO THE CROAT BAKARIC) UNDOUBTEDLY RANKLED MANY SERBS. PERHAPS THE PRESENCE OF DEFENSE SECRETARY GENERAL LJUBICIC, WHO CLEARLY HAD TITO'S TRUST AND CONFIDENCE, WILL ASSUAGE SERB SENSITIVITIES ON THIS SCORE. HOWEVER, WE THINK THAT LJUBICIC WAS CONTINUED IN HIS LEADERSHIP ROLE IN BOTH THE PARTY AND STATE APPARATUS BECAUSE OF HIS MILITARY OFFICE RATHER THAN "PERSONAL CAPACITY".
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(3) THE NINE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIES ARE LITTLE-KNOWN PERSONALITIES WHO ARE NOT EXPECTED TO HAVE THE STATURE OR INFLUENCE OF THOSE WHO SERVED IN THE NOW-DEFUNCT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. THE PARTY PRESIDUM WILL CARRY OUT VARIOUS FUNCTIONS FOR WHICH THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HAD RESPONSIBILITY. LIKE THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE PRESIDUM WAS ELECTED ON THE BASIS OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

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